2: Schaden--94 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/79 cont./

178 survived among the present-day Kayová, that of Paí Chiquinho
581 (Panambí), illustrates very well the importance of a masculine
596 personality in maintaining the traditional pattern. How can
586 anyone become chief of a large great-family if he himself abandons the woman to whom he is married?

59 If we ask a Kayová boy, "Who are you?" he usually identi-
178 fies himself with reference to his father: for instance: "Isidoraý," [851] son of Isidro. It is, perhaps, a reminiscence of the primitive [551] system, in which the domestic group always lived under the protection of a male. Nowadays many men spend a major part of the time working in the changa /as hired labor/ outside the village, and the children grow up under the protection of the mother. The bonds that bind them to her and to the maternal relatives are much stronger. Moreover, the mother remains the [171] same for life, whereas the father may "change," a situation, incidentally, also encountered in the rural populations of the Paraguayan border. And when he marries, the male child [606] easily frees himself from his family of origin, drawn to that of [591] the father-in-law, with whom and near whom he lives for some time, indeed by virtue of the institution of matrilocality: the married daughter, for her part, stays near her mother. Thus the persistence of the ancient matrilocality is combined with the loss of paternal authority, in the sense that only in exceptionally favorable conditions does the traditional organization of the great-family continue.

612 In any case, however, in all the Guaraní communities the
621 solidarity of the kin group /Port. grupo parental/ continues to be superimposed on that of the village or local group. Wherever there are Guaraní, one hears talk in the kindreds /Port. parentelas/ that they are set against kindreds. The social ties that bind the inhabitants of a local group, on the other hand, are of a consistency /80/ so weak and so little permanent that the composition of the community of the village is subject to continual modifica- [829] tions. And the group in migration -- the "trinca" /seizing or

2: Schaden--104 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/87 cont./
846 [789] [114] that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the
846 • 851 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation: in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 842 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with reference to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the [827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One 846 753 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 178 [626] The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to obtain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At

2: Schaden--182 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/139 cont./

771 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic
177 priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children
178 baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the
797 cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moãtendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized
[829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the
• 85 Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, also goes
797 along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen,
177 who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child.
178 At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly:
608 Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and
177 more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who
178 marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually
771 demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

/146 cont./

I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."